

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /065 W

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R 101729Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2769

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 10618

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UK, SP, PFOR, NATO, EC

SUBJ: CONSERVATIVE PARTY VIEWS ON SPAIN AND SPANISH

RELATIONSHIP TO NATO

REF: LONDON 10284 (NOTAL)

1. EMBASSY OFFICER REQUESTED OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS
CONSERVATIVE PARTY POLICIES ON SPAIN AND SPANISH-NATO
CONNECTIONS WITH CONSERVATIVE PARTY RESEARCH OFFICER
(NIGEL FOREMAN) JULY 9. IN ANSWER TO EMBASSY OFFICER'S
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SPECIFIC QUESTION, FOREMAN CONFIRMED THAT CONSERVATIVES

HAVE IN EFFECT NO POLICY ON UK RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN ITSELF OR ON SPANISH ASSOCIATION WITH NATO. FURTHERMORE HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PARTY HAS NOT EVEN FORMULATED BASIC "ATTITUDE" ON THESE QUESTIONS, DEFINING ATTITUDE AS PRELIMINARY STAGE IN POLICY FORMULATION.

2. WHILE FOREMAN SOMEWHAT DEPLORED THIS SITUATION, HE LEFT NO DOUBT AS TO HIS CONVICTION THAT PRESENT AND FUTURE STATUS OF SPAIN WAS CRITICAL ON STRATEGIC GROUNDS FOR NATO AND UK. CONSERVATIVES SEE IMPORTANT ROLE FOR SPAIN IN STRENGTHENING OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO, BUT AT PRESENT BELIEVE THIS ROLE CAN BEST BE FULFILLED THROUGH PERPETUATION SPECIAL SPANISH/US RELATIONSHIP AND BASE RIGHTS AGREEMENTS.

3. FOREMAN INQUIRED AS TO RELATIONSHIP OF QUESTION OF NATO AFFILIATION WITH SPANISH DESIRE TO GAIN FULL ADMISSION TO COMMON MARKET. THE FRENCH IN PARIS, HE SAID, HAV BEEN PUSHING FOR FULL SPANISH MEMBERSHIP AND TO ALL APPARENT EVIDENCE THE SPANISH THEMSELVES WISH IT. FOREMAN SUGGESTED THAT SPANISH MAY SEE RELATIONSHIP OF SPAIN TO EEC STRENGTHENED BY CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH NATO AND THI MAY EXPLAIN THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN -- UNSUCCESSFUL TO DATE -- TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR NATO LINK.

4. CONSERVATIVES ALSO WONDER, FOREMAN SAID, WHETHER NEW SPANISH INITIATIVES REGARDING EEC AND NATO MAY NOT BE BEST EXPLAINED AS RESPONSE TO TURN OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL. ACCORDING TO FOREMAN, SOME OF THE SPANISH LEADERSHIP MAY FEEL CLOSER EEC AND NATO TIES WOULD HELP TO PREVENT RESURGENCE OF SPANISH COMMUNISTS INTO A DOMINATING POSITION IN POST-FRANCO PERIOD.

5. EMBASSY OFFICER INQUIRED WHETHER CONSERVATIVE POLICY ON SPAIN REALLY DIFFERED MATERIALLY FROM THAT OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT, CITING REMARKS MADE INFORMALLY BY SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY MAUDLING TO EMBASSY OFFICERS TO THE EFFECT THAT EVEN CONSERVATIVES DID NOT WISH TO SUBJECT THEMSELVES TO "HUE AND CRY" WHICH WOULD FOLLOW CLOSER POLITICAL LINKS WITH OR UK "LEGITIMIZATION"

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OF PRESENT FRANCO REGIME. FOREMAN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MAUDLING'S EARLIER REMARKS DID POINT TO A SEVERE HANDICAP CONSERVATIVES WOULD HAVE IN FORCING THE PACE ON A NEW SPANISH POLICY; CONSERVATIVES WOULD NOT WISH TO OPEN THEMSELVES TO PUBLIC CAMPAIGN SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH OCCURRED DURING CAETANO VISIT OR IN REGARD TO TORY GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH GREEK COLONELS. THE PROBLEMS OF LABOR GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, WERE CONSIDERABLE AND DIFFER-

ENT. PRIMARY DISTINCTION IS SIMPLY THAT
PRESENT LABOR GOVERNMENT CANNOT AFFORD TO UNDERTAKE NEW
INITIATIVES ON ALMOST ANY ISSUE WITHOUT OBTAINING ENDORSE
MENT OR PRIOR CLEARANCE FROM TUC, ESPECIALLY JACK JONES.
AS REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER AGAINST FALANGISTS IN SPAIN IN
THE 30'S, JONES REMAINS HIGHLY CRITICAL OPPONENT FRANCO
REGIME AND WOULD RESIST ANY SOFTENING OF LABOR GOVERN-
MENT'S STAND VIS-A-VIS SPAIN. IDENTIFICATION OF UK
LABOR FIGURES WITH ANTI-FRANCO VIEWS BY NO MEANS IS
RESTRICTED TO JONES - HE CITED JUDITH HART AND HEFFER BY
NAME - AND THERE IS THE SEMANTIC PROBLEM OF VETERANS OF

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 10618

THE "ATLEE BRIGADE". WITH SO MANY PROBLEMS OF HIGHER PRIORITY WHICH INVOLVE POSSIBILITY OF WILSON'S LOSING LEFT-WING SUPPORT IN PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY, SPAIN APPEARS IN FOREMAN'S VIEW AS ISSUE ON WHICH WILSON AND CALLAGHAN CANNOT AFFORD TO OFFER LABOR LEFT-WING OPPORTUNITY FOR ATTACK.

6. CONSERVATIVES ARE JUST BEGINNING TO LOOK AT BOTH NATO
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AND EEC MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA; PARTICULARLY WITH REFERENCE TO VETO RIGHTS CURRENT MEMBERS MAY HAVE ON APPLICANTS. CONSERVATIVES BELIEVE WEST GERMANY IS STRONG SUPPORTER OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP OR ASSOCIATION, WHILE OPPOSITION IS PARTICULARLY STRONG IN NETHERLANDS AND DENMARK.

7. COMMENT: WHETHER RECENT WALKER VISIT TO MADRID (REF-TEL) WILL MARK OPENING OF NEW STAGE IN CONSERVATIVE PARTY POLICY FORMULATION REMAINS TO BE SEEN. WALKER IS OUT-SPOKEN CRITIC OF CONSERVATIVE LEADER, MARGARET THATCHER, WHOM HE WILL, OF COURSE, BRIEF ON HIS IMPRESSIONS, BUT HE ACKNOWLEDGES THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD SHE WILL BE "UNDULY IMPRESSED". FYI: RUNNING DISPUTE BETWEEN THATCHER AND WALKER REVOLVES AROUND CONSERVATIVE ECONOMIC POLICY, WITH LINGERING HANG-OVER FROM LEADERSHIP ELECTION LAST JANUARY. AFTER HEATH'S DEFEAT ON FIRST BALLOT, WALKER ENTERED THE LISTS. SINCE THEN HE HAS CRITICIZED PUBLICLY QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP, WRITTEN ALMOST SYCOPHANTIC ARTICLE REVIEWING HEATH'S ACHIEVEMENTS, AND BEEN PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED IN WELSH TORY CONFERENCE BY YOUNG CONSERVATIVE ACTIVISTS AS KIND OF SPOKESMAN AND LEADER THE PARTY NEEDS. END FYI.

RICHARDSON

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